

553 The child then receives a new name. Later, he may adopt names
852 that refer to notable incidents of his life.

852 In the Santa Catarina group, the perforation of the boys' lower lip
304 at the age of 2 or 3 is marked by great celebrations. Women, holding
gourd rattles, dance with warriors, who beat the ground with their
spears. The children are intoxicated with beer, and shaken until
half unconscious, when their ceremonial fathers pierce their lips
with a sharp stick (Henry, 1941, pp. 195-197).

582 Marriage.—According to Baldus' census (1937 c, p. 43), men are
generally older than their wives, in some cases as much as 15 to 20
years; among 37 percent of the couples there was a difference of 10
years.

A man marries when 18 to 20 years of age. If his bride is not yet
of age, he stays with her parents, waiting for the first signs of pu-
berty. In case of child betrothal, the lad's parents have to provide
for the girl's subsistence.

595 Polygyny is mentioned by all the early sources, but details vary.
Some authors declare that it was an old man's privilege, others that
it was restricted to the chiefs, good hunters, or famous warriors.
There are also indications of sororal polygyny and of marriage simul-
taneously to a woman and her daughter (Teschauer, 1929, p. 350).
In *Tupí-Guaraní* fashion, a girl often married her mother's brother.

[184] The *Caingang* of Palmas are, and claim always to have been
monogamous.

Manizer (1930) states that though a man may not marry his
cousin—he does not specify which—he usually takes her as a concubine
until her own marriage. If pregnancy occurs meanwhile, the girl,
as a rule, commits abortion. It often happened that a man grew
fonder of his cousin than of his legal wife, and that he sometimes
● [578] resolutely opposed her marriage. The continuation of such relation-
ship was bitterly resented by the legitimate wife.

For the *Aweikoma*, Henry infers that 60 percent of all marriages are
monogamous, a fair proportion of the remainder being polyandrous.

585 A marriage ceremony witnessed by Manizer (1930, p. 776) took place
during a drinking bout. Some old men seized the bridegroom and bride
and pushed them toward each other in spite of the woman's resistance.
Then they dragged them into the bridegroom's hut and left them there
under a blanket. The following day the woman ran away, but was
brought back by force.

591 Matrilocal residence, formerly the *Caingang* rule, is still frequent,
though many couples set up their own households. Baldus (1937 c,
p. 43) heard "that only lazy men lived in their father-in-law's house
and that, should the father-in-law die, the husband would have to
'govern' his mother-in-law."

precipitate it into a boiling pot. He also describes the slippery path from which it may fall into a swamp, where a huge crab awaits it (Nimuendajú, 1914, p. 372). 764 775

But at last the soul arrives at an underworld in the west, where it is day during our night, and where the forests teem with tapirs, deer, and other game. The souls of the aged become young again and live for the span of a human life. After a second death, the soul turns into a small insect, generally a mosquito or an ant, whose death ends everything; for this reason the *Caingang* never kill these insects (Baldus, 1937 c, p. 49).

WARFARE

A man who has been offended by some member of the community stands in front of his hut and in a loud voice enumerates all his grievances, sometimes bursting into a chant. He ends with threats against his enemy who, in the meantime, behaves in the same manner on the other side of the camp. After reciprocal abuses that often last a whole night, the challenger, followed by a group of supporters, advances toward the offender, who is immediately assisted by his own partisans. Both factions, armed with wooden clubs, fight a pitched battle, but are careful not to kill anybody. The sham battles of the *Caingang* have been described by many observers and may well be formalized brawls which have been interpreted as sportive games. 578 627

Feuds between *Caingang* groups may develop into regular warfare. When one group engages another, the members of the Kadnyerú moiety subdivision always form the first line. The Kamé constitute the second line and enter the fight as a reserve to take the place of the exhausted Kadnyerú. Battles between related groups are always preceded by exchanges of insults and by other demonstrations of anger. Although no weapons but cudgels are used, blows are so lustily administered that many are seriously wounded or killed. 628 726 [616] [411]

Wars against foreign tribes or the Whites were less strictly patterned. The *Caingang*, like all Indians, relied mainly on surprise attacks carried on at dawn. After a general discharge of arrows, the warriors, armed with their clubs, rushed against the enemy (Horta Barbosa, 1912, p. 42). 726 648

Women and children were generally spared and were adopted by the victorious group. They cut off the heads of slain enemies but did not keep them as trophies. 727

ETIQUETTE

When a *Caingang* visits another village, he hides in the vicinity until able to announce his presence to some relative. The host receives him with his face covered with a cloth and does not look at his guest until 574 576

595 Angneló, the sister of Kangndádn. Kangndádn had married Thunder Storm's sister and the two men had become almost inseparable. Though they are dead their relationship is perpetuated today in the relationship of their sons. But it was only after Kangndádn had married Thunder Storm's sister that Thunder Storm married Angneló. It is not at all rare among the Kaingáng that when a man marries another man's sister, her brother marries her husband's sister. The constant companionship of the two men, thrown together by the first marriage, brings this about in an informal way. Chukembégn, who deserted his wife Tendó and three children, was "led away" from her by his brother-in-law's sister, a young woman whom he saw day after day in his sister's house.

[592] 595 There is still another way in which polygyny may come about and that is if a wife calls another woman to "work with her." The husband, ostensibly, has no hand in the matter at all. The woman who does this gains a helper and companion, one who will nurse her children when she is away, who will accompany her on fruit-gathering expeditions, who will relieve her of the heavy loads of meat she has to transport and who will care for her when she is ill. At the same time, however, she assumes in herself an ability to share which experience may prove to be non-existent. But the Kaingáng tell me, the first wife may become so jealous of the second that her continual anger at last drives the second wife out, even after she has borne as many as two children. First wives never leave in such a situation. Thus it comes about that a second wife in a polygynous marriage shifts about a good deal. If she is heckled by the first wife she begins to look more seriously on her lovers, and when she slips out of one marriage she slips as easily into another.

[853] Polygyny is not always an entirely pleasant experience for a man, for although it is good to have a second wife during the several months after childbirth when intercourse with the mother is stopped, and two wives lighten each other's and their husband's burdens and bring in more food, a man must put up with their quarreling between themselves and the insults of either one who feels herself slighted.

581 Every marriage system is organized around some system of ideas no matter how unformulated they may be. Our own culture continually balances the ideal of love against the desire for property. The ideas that serve as the basis for the contraction of marriage carry within them the criteria by which all individuals are judged. We value people insofar as they are lovable or rich and powerful. Our ideas of what we consider a desirable sex companion are pretty clearly formulated and furnish the subject of many a conversation. But the Kaingáng are not educated to an ideal of love, and they have not formulated success in life in terms of wealth or prestige. Even raiding the Brazilians has given them little property, and

V

Disruptive Forces in Kaingáng Society

182 THE VERY FORMLESSNESS OF KAINGÁNG society makes us wonder what gave
571 it coherence. There were no territorial boundaries to limit the range of the
hunter, there was no chief or government to impose its will on the people,
there were no binding marriage forms and incest restrictions were minimal.
Marriage was brittle, and even the polyandrous and joint households, by
far the most stable units in the society, included only 20 percent of the
married population. Men were torn between the ties of blood and the ties
of marriage; they spent their years fluctuating between groups of both
kinds and haunted by a sense of insecurity.

619 The mechanism of kinship did not enforce cooperation among specific
182 individuals, and there was no large unit of specific outline that might
571 accomplish coordination of effort in some other way. The cooperation
578 among in-laws might be broken almost without reproach, and the ties that
bound children to their parents or to one another yielded to the strain of
affinal relationships or to stronger bonds that grew up between men and
their hunting companions. Yet, with all this, Kaingáng society could have
held together, however haphazardly its bonds are slung, for the Kaingáng
have a strong sense of being one people against other people. After all, they
are all related to one another by blood, and they are all "our people" or
"our living things" to one another, as opposed to all other "living things"
that have no possessive pronoun to bring them within the group. They felt
the need for renewing ever and again their informal contacts, and whoever
let the years pass as he lived in isolation wandering thoughtlessly in a dis-
tant part of the forest risked a quarrel when he met again the people he
had neglected. The very lack of fixity of relationships and the multitude of
ways of forming them left the Kaingáng with no device for controlling a

649 conflict. Once a feud arose there was nothing, neither dominating ties of
 182 blood nor the voice of chieftainship or government, to stop or limit it.
 571 Where the demands of kin by marriage conflicted with the claims of blood
 578 and where the call of a hunting companion whose bed one had shared
 clamored above the voices of blood and affinity the individual was pulled
 in a dozen directions, by a dozen magnets. Feuds spread, cleaving the
 society asunder like a deadly axe, blighting its life like the plague. Thus it
 came about that the very forces of integration carried the seeds of disruption
 within them. A man's link with his wife's people pulled him from his
 siblings; his bond with his sister's husband tore him from his wife's people;
 and his relationships with his hunting companions drew him from all.

582 The Kaingáng are divided into extended families ranging in numbers
 596 from 50 to 300 individuals. These families are made up of the descendants
 591 of two or more men who have intermarried and whose children have inter-
 married. Thus each family is closely inbred, and almost every member can
 trace his genealogy¹ to one of the two or more male ancestors. These an-
 cestral males are real personalities, and the data on them is usually rather
 full, but there is always a point beyond which memory cannot go, and it is
 impossible to learn anything about any of their parents or siblings. Mar-
 riages with other extended families occurred, but marriages within the
 families far outnumber marriages between the families. This endogamy
 was brought about not by a specific taboo on marrying outside but by the
 hostility between the families which made them distrust one another and
 which kept them apart. When members of different families did marry it
 almost always caused a split in the ranks of one or both of the intermarry-
 ing groups. In such a case brother might be aligned against brother to the
 death. Those who shifted from one family to another either through mar-
 riage or through having been captured as youngsters were looked on as
 blood relatives of their new associates and hence as enemies to their former
 friends and were given no quarter in case of attack by members of the
 family to which they once belonged.

The Kaingáng call members of their own extended family "my own
 people," and the warm personal relationships that have been described in
 the preceding chapters exist only among one's "own people." For hundreds
 of years there have been several Kaingáng extended families and they have
 lived in a state of perpetual feud with one another. Whole lineages have
 been destroyed, and others, overcome by panic, have wandered away into
 the endless forests, never to be heard of again. Sometimes two extended
 families have come together and have been able to live in peace, but gen-

¹ The Kaingáng are minutely interested in their own genealogies, and they know who
 their father's father's father's son's wife's sister's daughter's husband is down to the last detail
 of all his names, what he died of, and how many children he had.

476 The hunter who kills an animal is not forced to share it, nor
224 do the others demand this from him.

Yet it is a natural thing among them, and they cannot conceive of any course of action other than to share the proceeds of the hunt, no matter how small, with everyone else.

727 [127] This same "instinctive" rule also applied to the distribution of plunder following their raids on civilized communities.

628 They have no judges to solve their disagreements, but attempt
[579] to reach a decision first through words and then through a duel.

If a man happens to be killed in the course of such a fight, his close relatives nearly always try to avenge him. Such "vendettas" have often led to the subdivision of the tribe into mutually hostile groups, frequently numerous, which exterminated each other in mass slaughters. This is the main reason for the decimation of this tribe, which used to be quite large and which numbered great quantities of warriors.

531 The Botocudo manifest their artistic taste in the carefully woven spear ornaments which surround the junction of the blade and shaft; in the manufacture of their arrows; and in the embellishment of the small waterproof baskets used within the huts. They also express it in their multicolored linear drawings and the fringes of their aprons, as well as in the ornamentation carved or burned in, which adorn many of their implements.

534 Their gourd rattles are heavily decorated. The handle is
531 covered with a cross-braiding made with the black fibers of imbó-mirim bark; the base of the gourd is surrounded with multicolored hair and feathers; the gourd itself is covered with carved designs; and the tip of the handle is ornamented in the same fashion as its base.

Like all primitive peoples, the Botocudo are familiar with the rudiments of those sciences directly related to their daily needs.

805 They recognize three yearly seasons: summer (lâmbang), the time of great heat; winter (kotchôma), the time of cold weather; and autumn (kôzôio-to-kutâma), the time when trees shed their leaves.

The lunar month is called kutschá and calculated from one full moon to another. Their recognition of seasons provides them with the concept of a yearly cycle; they are also guided by the flowering of certain trees and the ripening of certain fruits.